

Message Text

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S E C R E T USNATO 5848

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: NUCLEAR ASPECTS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: VIENNA 9842

BEGIN SUMMARY: THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR SUPPORTING THE PROPOSITION OFFERED IN REFTEL THAT THE ALLIES HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO MAKE USE OF THE CONTENT OF OPTION 3 OF THE APRIL 30 U.S. PAPER, AND STILL LESS ANY GROUNDS FOR SUPPORTING THE CONTENTION THAT THE ALLIES HAVE AGREED TO DRAW ON OPTION 3 "UP TO ITS FULL CON- TNET." FURTHER CONSULTATIONS IN NATO WILL BE NECESSARY TO GAIN ENDORSEMENT OF AN ALLIED POSITION IN VIENNA, IF THE U.S. DECIDES TO INTRODUCE NUCLEARS INTO THE NEGOTIATION. END SUMMARY

1. IN CIRCULATING OPTION III OF APRIL 30 AS A POSSIBLE ADD-ON TO GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS, THE U.S. STRESSED THAT THE CONTENTS OF THE OPTION WERE ILLUSTRATIVE (USNATO 2129). ON THIS BASIS, A SECRET

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NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS IN SUBSEQUENT COUNCIL MEETINGS FAVORED INCLUSION OF AN ADD-ON ALONG THESE LINES, BUT THEY CLEARLY WERE NOT COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO THE PRECISE CONTENT OF THE U.S. THIRD OPTION (USNATO 2528, 2490, 2345). MOREOVER, SOME HAD RE-

SERVATIONS ABOUT THE OPTION EVEN AS AN ADD-ON MEASURE. IN HIS SUMMING UP AT COPENHAGEN MINISTERIAL ON JUNE 15, SYG LUNS STATED ONLY THE AN APPROPRIATE MIXED PACKAGE SHOULD BE "CONSIDERED" (COPENHAGEN 1356).

2. THE ALLIES WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE ARGUMENT THAT THEIR LACK OF SPECIFIC OBJECTION TO AMB RUMSFELD'S ORAL STATEMENTS ON NUCLEAR ASPECTS ON JULY 27, WHICH MISSION WAS INSTRUCTED NOT TO CIRCULATE IN WRITING (STATE 145612), SHOULD BE TAKEN AS "IN PRINCIPLE" CONSENT. ALLIED COMMENTS AT THAT NAC MEETING WERE PROBING IN CHARACTER AND DID NOT INDICATE SUCH ACCEPTANCE (USNATO 3582). IN CONSULTATIONS THIS SUMMER AND FALL LEADING TO AGREEMENT ON THE FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL, THE NUCLEAR ISSUE WAS NOT ADDRESSED. ONE OF OUR STANDING INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WAS THAT WE SHOULD NOT INCLUDE IT IN ANY FALLBACK POSITIONS (STATE 166471).

3. USDEL MBFR IS CORRECT IN STATING THAT OPTION III HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY SHAPE, AND SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED BY THE WORKING GROUP. THE WORKING GROUP'S ARE NOT UNFAVORABLE TOWARDS AND STATE CLEARLY THAT IS A "HYPOTHETICAL" REDUCTION OPTION (AC/257-D (73)5). OPTION III BUT CONTAIN SOME RESERVATIONS. THE U.S. HAS CONSTANTLY INSISTED THAT THE WG SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY POLITICAL JUDGEMENTS, OR RENDER ANYTHING MORE THAN TECHNICAL ADVICE. THUS THE WORKING GROUP REVIEW OF OPTION III CAN NOT BE SEEN AS IN ANY WAY IMPLYING ALLIED SANCTION FOR THE USE OF OPTION III IN NEGOTIATIONS.

4. IN LIGHT OF THIS BACKGROUND, WE DO NOT FIND IT SURPRISING THAT NEITHER THE UK NOR GERMAN DELEGATION IN VIENNA NOR FCO IN LONDON (LONDON 14065) IS ASSUMING ANY ALLIED AGREEMENT OF THIS KIND, DESPITE THE REPORT IN PARA 4 REFTEL THAT UK AND FRG REPS IN WASHINGTON WERE TOLD THAT ALLIED AGREEMENT TO THE U.S. REDUCTION PROPOSALS "WOULD EMBODY AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE USE OF THE APRIL 30 INCREMENT FOR THE NEGOTIATING PACKAGE."

5. CLEARLY THE SECURITY CONSIDERATION IS AN IMPORTANT ONE IN
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DECIDING HOW TO HANDLE FUTURE DELIBERATIONS ON THE NUCLEAR ELEMENT OF AN MBFR PACKAGE BUT THIS PROBLEM IS FOUND IN VIENNA AND ALLIED CAPITALS AS WELL AS IN BRUSSELS. INDEED, WE NOT THAT THE PRESS LEAKS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION EMANATED FROM VIENNA, LONDON, WASHINGTON AND BONN, AS WELL AS BRUSSELS.

6. ON A MATTER AS IMPORTANT TO THE ALLIANCE AS INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR ELEMENTS IN AN MBFR NEGOTIATING OFFER, IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS THAT THERE WILL HAVE TO BE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF THE SUBJECT IN A MODE DESIGNED TO ATTRACT THE SUPPORT OF ALL OF THE IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. A TRIPARTITE SOLUTION WITHOUT TIMELY AND ADEQUATE CONSULTATIONS IN NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL WOULD

NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES. CLEARLY, ONE OF THE KEY QUESTIONS
IN THE TRILATERALS WILL BE HOW TO HANDLE NATO
CONSULTATIONS ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE IN MBFR, AS UK-FRG NOV 29
BILATERAL ALREADY INDICATED (LONDON 14065).
RUMSFELD

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